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The Director of Central Intelligence
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National Intelligence Council

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FROM: [redacted] A/NIO/EUR

SUBJECT: IFPA Conference on German-American Relations

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1. Attached is program of 10-11 December conference which I attended. It proved to be a very frank exchange of views on SDI, arms control and burden-sharing. Ken Adelman, Fred Ikle, General Abrahamson, Tap Bennett, and Ed Rowney made their standard presentations. Senator Nunn's aide, Punaro, brought down the house with a broadside against NATO allies' lackluster spending commitments.

2. Comments by the CDU group of participants (see attachment) was a clear reflection of what even the most pro-American West German politicians are thinking about US policies. Simply stated, they are open-minded but nervous about the Administration's plans for SDI. CDU parliamentarians with Defense Committee responsibilities kept asking what the cost would be and what the consequences were for the Alliance; they seemed less interested in the technology as presented by Abrahamson, and more concerned about the politics. They were not yet convinced that deterrence and coupling will be enhanced, and they are not likely to be reassured until the SDI concept and technology matures. CDU members also stressed that the critical threshold is not between nuclear and conventional war, but between peace and war. Hence, introduction of E.T. and improved conventional defense by itself are not sufficient goals.

3. The most provocative session saw Senator Nunn's staff aide take on both Administration representatives and every West German in the room. To put it mildly, our CDU friends were "pissed off," by Punaro's assertion that only the US had lived up to its commitments. I counted four Defense Committee members of the Bundestag who expressed "outrage" at this assertion and [redacted] joined in by

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saying that these recriminations were "contemptuous." He cited the 1970s record of FRG spending, the 1983 HNS agreement, FRG efforts to aid Spanish membership into NATO, as well as INF as proof of West Germany's contributions. Moreover, several participants noted that West Germany will be unfairly punished if the Nunn amendment passes -- since other allies' lack of spending will bring about US troop cuts in the FRG. The DPC's recent agreement to increase infrastructure spending was viewed by one US participant, Jeff Record, as proof of the Nunn amendment's success, but only if NATO allies live up to their DPC commitment; if not, a Nunn amendment might pass next year.

4. These CDU parliamentarians unanimously believe that the amendment is counter-productive. One official noted that there is a younger generation that believes the US is an "occupying power" anyway, and passage of the Nunn amendment will encourage the view that the US is no friend of West Germans. I left the meeting feeling that we are going to see this issue get worse, and the prospects for a SPD/Green government in 1987 could be aided if too much pressure is put on Kohl and he is made to appear to be a vassal of Washington. At a minimum, CDU leaders will resist US pressures in order to avoid this charge. Worse yet, an SPD-led government after 1987 may be further convinced by such actions that the US is no friend.

5. The conference also stimulated a couple of research paper ideas. Manpower problems are not limited to West Germany; in several discussions it was pointed out that the late 1980s will see drawdowns everywhere. EURA might look into a paper on "Manpower and the Alliance." Also, by inference, the discussion of manpower and economic constraints suggests that the Alliance might ultimately be thrown back to reliance on nuclear weapons by the late 1980s. A paper on Nuclear Weapons and the Alliance that deals with the late 1980s might be appropriate.

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Attachment

Distribution:

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SEVENTH
GERMAN-AMERICAN ROUNDTABLE:
POLITICAL CONSTRAINTS, EMERGING
TECHNOLOGIES, AND ALLIANCE
STRATEGY

Co-Sponsored By:

The Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Inc.
Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Washington, D.C.
and

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung
Sankt Augustin, Federal Republic of Germany

10-11 December 1984

The Madison Hotel
1500 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

**SEVENTH GERMAN-AMERICAN ROUNDTABLE:
POLITICAL CONSTRAINTS, EMERGING TECHNOLOGIES,
AND ALLIANCE STRATEGY**

**10-11 December 1984
The Madison Hotel, Washington, D.C.**

AGENDA

**Monday
December 10, 1984**

9:00 a.m.-12:30 p.m. Chairman: Dr. Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.
Working Session I:
U.S. Defense Policy during the Next Four Years

- Modernization of offensive strategic forces
- Modernization of general purpose forces
- U.S. arms control policy during the next four years

Luncheon
12:30-2:00 p.m.

2:00-5:00 p.m. Chairman: Mr. Wolfgang Pordzik
Working Session II:
Strategic Defense Initiative

- Technological prospects
- Strategic and arms control implications

Change and Continuity in the European Security Environment (German Presentation)

- German policy in the Western alliance
- Inter-European security cooperation: WEU, EC, and French-German defense collaboration
- Intra-German relations
- Federal Republic of Germany and its relationship with the Soviet Union

**Tuesday
December 11, 1984**

9:00 a.m.-12:00 noon Chairman: Dr. Peter R. Weilemann
Working Session III:
Military Issues Facing the Alliance

- Conventional-nuclear threshold
- Manpower constraints in West German and U.S. general-purpose forces
- Emerging technologies (ET): Implications for conventional deterrence and nuclear deterrence
- Congressional perspectives on transatlantic security issues

Luncheon
12:30-2:00 p.m.

2:30-5:00 p.m. Chairman: Dr. Jacquelyn K. Davis
Working Session IV:
Military Issues Facing the Alliance (continued)

- The Rogers Plan
- AirLand Battle and its variants
- Maritime forces and NATO defense
- Cooperation in defense technology

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